

THE GREEN BOOK



BY MUAMMAR AL QADHAFI

PART 1

The solution of the problem of Democracy

PART 2

The solution of the Economic Problem

PART 3

The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

In these three volumes the Libyan leader examines the economic, social and political problems confronting the world today, and presents a radical programme for their solution.

The Green Book provides a comprehensive review of the theories on which the Libyan Jamahiriya is based. The proposals put forward by Muammer al Qadhafi are not merely theories but an explanation and insight into the structure and priorities of modern Libya.

Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

jamahiriya review

SEPTEMBER 1980

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UNION WITH SYRIA —QADHAFI'S HISTORIC CALL



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THE GREEN BOOK: Public discussions
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Issue No 4 September 1980

SINCE 1969, 1st September has been celebrated by the Libyan people as the anniversary of the day on which a corrupt, foreign-backed regime was overthrown, and the day on which the Libyan people began to take control of their own destinies. In this issue, to commemorate the eleventh anniversary of the Al Fateh revolution, we present a special feature which examines the changes, both economic and political, which Libya and its people have seen.

THE REVOLUTION is not one man. But Muammar Qadhafi is recognised and universally respected in Libya for his leadership, both in deeds and in words. He has set forth in the Green Book the ideas of democracy which guide the Jamahiriya. His speech on the anniversary of each Revolution is listened to with overwhelming interest and affection by the Libyan people. This year, as so often, the Leader of the Revolution drew the attention of the Arab nation and the whole world with his proposal for unity with Syria. We present extended extracts from his speech, to give our readers the opportunity to know not only what Brother Qadhafi said, but also the context in which it was said the dangers facing Syria and the Arab nation as a whole.

ECONOMIC CHANGES have produced not only material well being, but investment in projects which will be essential when the Jamahiriya can no longer rely on oil wealth for its revenues. We examine Libya's economic transformation.

POLITICALLY, the establishment of the Jamahiriya—the state of the masses—has been the key to ensuring that the Libyan people not only control their own lives now, but that they will continue to do so in the future. We look at how this direct democracy works.

IN ORDER to present full coverage of the anniversary of the Revolution, we have to hold over or shorten numerous features and regular items. They will be back as usual next month.

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Libya is confident and stable, but faces a dangerous world

ELEVEN YEARS since the Al Fateh Revolution of 1st September 1969 have totally transformed Libya. The world as a whole has undergone changes which are just as great — though they have not, for the most part, been so entirely positive. What the next decade will bring is not given to humanity to know. But it is right, when one surveys the achievements of the Al Fateh Revolution, to think what the fruits of that event might be when the seed planted in 1969 has grown another ten years towards maturity.

The generation of Libyans which, inside the Jamahiriya itself, has seen only the events since 1969, is now fully mature. They are not only students in schools and universities, but are already taking their places in industry, as teachers, doctors, and political and economic administrators. The generation is already impatient to apply the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution in practice.

The world dismissed the Free Unionist Officers, and the leader of the Revolution, Muammar Qadhafi, because of their youth and inexperience when they overthrew the corrupt Idris regime. Outsiders could not know that this movement had absorbed the Arab and Islamic experience, had taken due measure of the ideas and political and economic systems of Europe and America, and was determined that mistakes made in history would not be repeated by the people of the Jamahiriya.

Now, the generation of Al Fateh — still young and vigorous by any standards, and particularly by comparison with the old men who run the world's 'major' powers — is being supported by a new generation. That is the fruit of the tremendous expansion of educational facilities in Libya over the past eleven years.

The economic successes of the Revolution mean that this generation will be needed in industry. In petroleum, more and more Libyans will be taking jobs previously filled by expatriates. There will be the tasks of establishing and running the new industries, both the 'downstream' petroleum-based industries such as plastics and chemicals, and engineering and manufacturing designed to substitute for costly imports.

In agriculture, the task which faces the Jamahiriya is vast. Building on what has already been achieved, the generation of the 1980's will be occupied in restoring Libya's once unchallenged reputation as an agricultural producer aiming for self-sufficiency in food.

The Jamahiriya's political system, ensuring as it does the direct authority over the masses in matters of national and international policy, is probably the most stable democratic system anywhere in the world. The future participation of Libyans in controlling their own lives is without doubt a guarantee that while other regimes and systems will change, the Jamahiriya will continue to enjoy the confidence of its people. The vital division between those in authority, on the one hand, and the ideals of the Revolution on the other, ensures that unlike other revolutionary systems, the Jamahiriya will not degenerate into a bureaucracy alienated from the wishes of the citizens.

While one can confidently expect continuing stability in Libya, it is difficult to be more optimistic about the world

as a whole. In particular, the new aggressive tendencies evident in the United States are extremely disturbing. Whoever wins this November's Presidential election, there have already been significant capitulations to the militarists in the Pentagon and the Department of Defense, flying in the face, sometimes of even the assessments of the Department of State. President Carter has ordered an increase in arms spending, and has committed the United States to new weapons and strategic doctrines which seem intended to upset the balance of power.

This desperate desire by the main contenders for the presidency to outbid each other in aggressive actions and tactics is not an accident. It is the logical outcome of the efforts of a tiny elite of military personnel and politicians who have sought, over the past five years, to reverse the will of the American people. After the defeat in Vietnam, most Americans wanted never again to be involved in foreign aggression. But ruling circles in the United States, failing totally to perceive where the real interests of their country lie, sought to re-establish its discredited role as a world policeman. To some extent, they have now succeeded in doing this, and the world is a more dangerous place as a result.

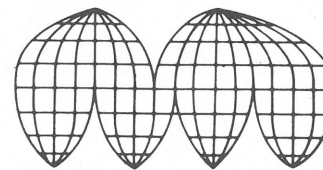
One way in which they have attempted to do this is by persuading the American people that the Camp David process is American foreign involvement for 'peace' rather than for war. Another way has been the concealment of US responsibility for the regime of the Shah of Iran, which has enabled the Americans to portray themselves somehow as victims, rather than the aggressors, in that country. Manipulation of the media is part and parcel of the new aggressive drive. All three leading presidential candidates have declared their support for Zionism and for continued Israeli expansionism.

On the other side of the 'great power' struggle, the Soviet Union too is faced with challenges to its previously untrammelled influence in eastern Europe. The struggle for popular power in Poland is being watched with great interest throughout the world. But there is no doubt that attitudes on both sides of the east-west divide are contributing to making the world a more dangerous place than at any time in the past eleven years.

For the Third World, the concerns of the eighties will reflect those which arose in the seventies. The demand for a new world economic order, which will transfer wealth from the rich to the poor, will continue. But, having been already frustrated from taking real steps in this direction, the eighties will see the Third World taking much greater efforts to exclude the developed world altogether, and concentrating instead on trade and exchange of technologies between Third World countries. Above all, the Third World will be united in its demand that the nuclear powers, the superpowers, should be restrained from plunging the world into a nuclear war, a war in which, should it happen, the Third World will again suffer the interests of the developed world.

While the immediate situation is grim, beneath repression and colonialism, there are stirrings of people's power, for peace and unity. The eighties will be marked, above all by the clash between these two forces. The Libyan people know which side they are on.

A monthly
review of
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and Third World
affairs



PANORAMA
news review

Tobruk incident fabricated

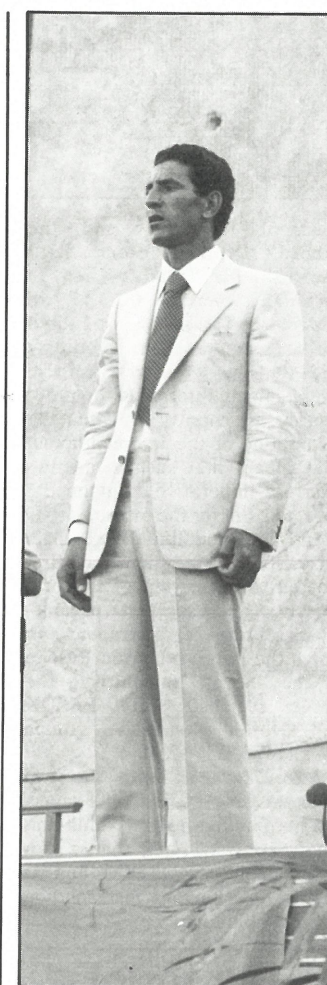
REPORTS IN several western newspapers that 400 lives had been lost in an alleged 'army mutiny' in Tobruk, in eastern Libya, in mid-August, were fabricated by Egyptian and other media organisations hostile to the Jamahiriya. The reports spoke of a revolt by troops of the 9th Brigade, stationed in Tobruk. They originated with the Egyptian state-controlled news agency, MENA. The reports claimed that the 'revolt' had been 'crushed' by loyal Libyan troops assisted by 'East German advisors'.

The Libya news agency, JANA, said that the reports were totally false, and pointed out that 'the city of Tobruk is basking in a festive mood and the light-heartedness of summer holidays.'

Major Abdul Salem Jalloud said at a press conference: 'I don't agree that anything happened at Tobruk. The incident was a simple one. We discovered a foreign agent who happened to be an Italian. He confessed that he had already been under suspicion and was being observed. He then left for Rome, and whilst there met the Secretary of the Egyptian Ambassador. We arrested him when he returned. We have a tape recording of his full confession and have also interviewed the three others, these also being tape-recorded.'

'The chief of the army camp where the Italian was based sent officers to arrest him, and after some pursuit, this was done,' Major Jalloud said. He emphasised: 'I categorically deny that there was any mutiny at Tobruk, and would remind you that propaganda is being constantly directed against the Jamahiriya, as when during the 1977 aggression by Egypt, Sadat said: "The Gamal Nasser base has been destroyed." On the same day, we took 80 journalists who had lunch at the base and saw that it was untouched.'

Major Jalloud said that there was no evidence of direct connection between the activities of the Italian and the concentration of Egyptian troops on the border with the Jamahiriya. Answering a question from a journalist, he said that he believed that well over a suggested 40 per cent of Egypt's forces were concentrated on the border with Libya. But he insisted:



Major Jalloud at the celebrations of the anniversary of the Revolution, a few days after the western press claimed that he had been attacked and wounded.

'We have not concentrated our forces. We depend on the armed people and we are alert with our fingers on the trigger. We also have great confidence in the Egyptian people and army. If Sadat starts an aggression against Libya, there is great hope that the Egyptian people will support us.'

Mayor Jalloud pointed out that although other eastern and western European countries had civilian technical experts assisting with Libyan military training, Libya and the German Democratic Republic did not, in fact, have any military co-operation.

Major Jalloud's appearance at the press conference was itself a reminder of the unreliability of western press reporting on Libya. Shortly before he was due to appear, an aide came in to announce that an Agence France

Presse report had been received saying that the Major had been attacked and seriously wounded. (The report was also carried in several British papers.) Waiting journalists were thrown into confusion, and when the Major entered the conference room a few moments later, evidently in the best of health, the effect was, to say the least, dramatic.

In a later statement, JANA commented: 'We thought the reference was to 400 fish caught by holidaymakers in the city. The circles responsible for circulating these allegations know perfectly well what the situation is in Libya but ignore it deliberately.' Libya was a democratic country, where the people exercised authority through the People's Congresses, JANA said. Libyans were too busy to fight each other, said JANA: 'They are fighting the desert itself to look for new lands with plenty of water to ensure security and progress.'

Jamahiriya accepts nuclear rules

THE LIBYAN Jamahiriya has agreed to accept the International Atomic Energy Agency's rules which are intended to ensure that nuclear materials are not used for military purposes. The IAEA, based in Vienna, said that the agreement between it and the Libyan Jamahiriya was in accordance with the provisions of the 1970 nuclear non-proliferation treaty, which Libya signed in 1975. The agreement also applies to contracts for the supply of nuclear technology.

Foreign Secretary demands UN action

THE UNITED Nations must shoulder its responsibility in the face of repeated Israeli contempt of resolutions passed in that body, Dr Ali Abdussalaam Treiki, the Jamahiriya's Foreign Secretary, told the UN General Assembly during its special session on Palestine at the end of July. Dr Treiki said that the UN, which had repeatedly recognised the right of the Palestinian people

to self-determination, and the Palestine Liberation Organisation as their sole legitimate representative, should take steps to fulfil its obligations to the Palestinians.

He denounced the continual use of the veto by the United States in the Security Council, which prevented UN action against Israel for its violations of UN resolutions. This, he said, confirmed that the US was hostile to the struggle against racism and for Palestinian rights. Dr Treiki said that the cancellation of the Security Council veto was necessary to ensure the carrying out of the Charter of the United Nations. If the General Assembly failed to take the necessary measures and shoulder its responsibilities resulting from American hostility to Palestinian rights, then there 'was a grave danger that the UN could disintegrate.'

Dr Treiki criticised the European Common Market countries' Middle East initiative, which arose from the Venice summit in June. It was, he said, within the spirit of the Camp David accords, which had been condemned by Arab and Islamic summits, and by the non-aligned movement. The Camp David accords had created new tension in the region, of which the two most blatant examples were the repeated Zionist aggression in Lebanon, and the massing of Egyptian troops in co-operation with the US, along the borders of the Libyan Jamahiriya.

Egypt was helping the United States achieve its objectives in the region, and it had gained the advantage of military bases from which it could attack the Iranian Islamic Revolution, and from which troops could be directed against progressive forces in the Arab homeland and in Africa, Dr Treiki said.

Peace could only be achieved, he told the General Assembly, if the expulsion of Arabs from their lands in Palestine, and their replacement with immigrant settlers, was reversed. A democratic state for the Palestinians should be created in the whole of Palestine, where Muslims, Christians and Jews could live side-by-side.

The Foreign Secretary said that history showed that liberation movements were, in the end, victorious. Just as the struggle for Zimbabwean liberation had removed Rhodesia, so too the Zionist occupation of Palestine would be removed.

Lebanese socialists meet Qadhafi

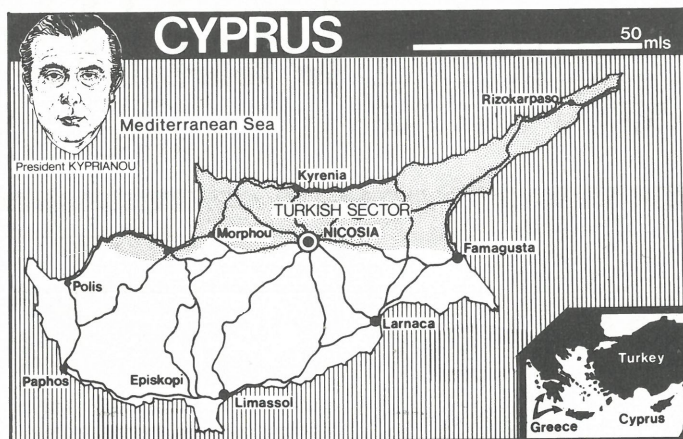
HOW A revolution starts is not important, but it must develop according to a programme which results in a social revolution so that power lies in the hands of the masses, Colonel Muammar Qadhafi told a visiting delegation from the Arab Socialist Union of Lebanon in Tripoli in August. Colonel Qadhafi stressed that the Third Universal Theory on which the Libyan revolution is based is not directed solely at Arabs or Muslims but is addressed to the whole world. Its principles, he said, are cries for freedom capable of implementation at all places and at all times.

The Libyan leader said that those who sought to exercise authority on behalf of the masses to attain revolutionary objectives gradually became hostile to the masses. Such revolutionary 'authorities' sought to control them.

People's Congresses, People's Committees, Professional Congresses and Revolutionary Committees were the elements of the system which enables the masses to control their own destinies, Colonel Qadhafi said.

He cited the example of the Egyptian Revolution of 23rd July 1952, which was inspired by Gamal Abdul Nasser, a true friend of the masses. But it remained true to its principles only during Nasser's lifetime. After that, it suffered a setback which had produced a situation in Egypt worse than that prevailing before the Revolution; the Egyptian citizen had been turned into a defeated, exploited and enslaved being. Colonel Qadhafi explained that this was not an accident, but was a logical consequence of the 23rd July programme. Nasser had dealt a real blow to the enemies of the people through the revolution. But, when the Revolution began to exercise authority on behalf of the people, it transformed itself into an instrument of their oppression. The revolutionary programme was carried out from above by the authorities, and this led to a contradiction between the Revolution and the masses.

The Secretary General of the Arab Socialist Union of Lebanon, Abdul Rahim Murad, spoke of the solidarity between the members of his organisation and the Libyan revolution, which he said formed a base for revolutionary forces in the Arab homeland and the rest of the world, and was an active supporter of the Palestinian struggle and of freedom fighters throughout the world.



Cyprus talks resume

TALKS BETWEEN the Greek and Turkish communities on Cyprus resumed on 10th August after a break of more than a year. The problems have centred around the different perspectives of the two communities on a solution to the division of the island. Differences between Turkish and Greek Cypriots were exacerbated by British colonial rule before the island became independent, and the island has been divided between the two sides since Turkish troops invaded the northern part in 1974.

The Turkish community, which refers to its section of the island as the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, is prepared only for a very loose federation with the Greek community's section. The Greek Cypriots have demanded that all Turkish troops should be withdrawn and that reparations should be made. They also want to know the fate of more than 2,000 Greek Cypriots who disappeared during the Turkish invasion, and they object to the fact that the Turkish army occupied a far larger portion of the island than that previously occupied by the Turkish Cypriot community.

The talks were restarted after both sides agreed that the representative of the United Nations, Dr Hugh Gobbi, in re-opening the negotiations, should refer to 'a federal solution of the constitutional aspect' (the Greek Cypriot formulation) along with 'a bizonal solution of the territorial aspect' (the Turkish Cypriot formulation). But the President of Cyprus, Spyros Kyprianou, warned that the Turkish community would not make any progress if they attempted to interpret 'bizonality' as partition. The Greek Cypriot community wants to ensure that the future federal government will have sufficient power to keep the island united.

The resumption of the talks followed the intervention of the Libyan Jamahiriya. Foreign Secretary Dr Ali Abdussalaam Treiki visited both sides of the island in July, and had talks with

President Kyprianou and the Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denkash. Dr Treiki offered to organise a meeting for the two leaders in Tripoli under United Nations auspices. Mr Kyprianou said that he was very grateful for the Libyan interest in the problems of his country, but that the resumption of the intercommunal talks meant that such a meeting was 'not imperative'; but he did not rule it out for the future.

The idea behind Dr Treiki's successful intervention was first mooted at a meeting of the progressive and socialist organisations of the Mediterranean, in which the Foreign Liaison Bureau of the Libyan Jamahiriya, the Greek socialist party PASOK and Cypriot progressive groups are all represented.

After his talks with the two sides on Cyprus, Dr Treiki reported his findings to Dr Waldheim, who expressed his thanks for the Jamahiriya's initiative and its efforts to achieve a just solution to the problem.

Arab Interior ministers meet

THE THIRD conference of Arab Interior Ministers ended in Taif, Saudi Arabia, on 28th August with the disclosure of a pan-Arab security plan. The plan calls for a variety of security measures, both international and domestic, at an estimated cost over the next three years of \$30 million. The cost will be shared by the Arab states. Among the plan's items are bilateral measures aimed at preventing crimes committed on Arab territory, along with the transformation of the Arab Interior Ministers' conference into a permanent council in charge of implementing a pan-Arab security policy. Social defence measures as well as pan-Arab extradition agreements were reached.

Libya aids Uganda

THE FIRST batch of medical supplies to famine stricken

Uganda left the Libyan Jamahiriya in late August. The supplies included medical supplies which are now urgently needed in Uganda, where food supplies are now flowing in from western nations.

However, the African state is in urgent need of medical supplies and the Libyan Jamahiriya has responded to an urgent request from the Ugandan authorities, despatching a plane load of medical supplies, baby foods and blankets to Kampala, destined for the drought-stricken Karamoja region in north east Uganda.

The Libyan ambassador to Uganda described the situation in Uganda as 'tragic'.

Christians say annexation of Jerusalem is threat to peace

THE PURPORTED Zionist annexation of Jerusalem 'most dangerously undermines all efforts towards a just solution of the Middle East problem,' the World Council of Churches central committee said after its meeting in Geneva at the end of August. The WCC, which represents the overwhelming majority of the world's Christians, called on its member churches 'to exert pressure through their respective governments to withhold any action on Jerusalem, the future of which should be included in negotiations on self-determination involving Israel and the Palestinian people.' The WCC is to undertake consultations with its member churches in the region, and with the Roman Catholic Church, which is not a WCC member, to explore possibilities of finding a solution to the problem of Jerusalem.

The Middle East Council of Churches (MECC) which represents Christians in that area, and which is a WCC affiliate, also denounced the Israeli action over Jerusalem. Its Secretary-General, Mr Gabriel Habib, said that the unilateral annexation of Jerusalem by Israel, and its policy of evicting the indigenous people of the city through resettlement processes, was a challenge to United Nations resolutions. Such acts undermined a just solution to the Middle East problem, and jeopardised regional and world peace, Mr Habib said.

The problem could not be solved, he added, except in relation to the destiny of the people of Palestine. 'It is therefore a human issue and not a matter of shrines. It is an issue of conviviality between peoples and different religious communities, and not a matter of ancient ruins.'

Union with Syria against Zionism and reactionary plots

IN HIS speech on the eleventh anniversary of the great Al Fateh 1st September Revolution, the leader of the Libyan Revolution, Muammar Qadhafi, made a concrete and dramatic proposal for union with Syria, in order to reinforce Syrian resistance to Zionism and to reaction in the Middle East. In the course of his speech, Muammar Qadhafi also dealt with the developments which had brought the control of Libya's oil wealth into the hands of its people. He discussed the future of Libyan relationships with other neighbouring countries, and pledged that whatever action the Sadat regime took against Libya, the Libyan people would never be hostile to the people of Egypt. Brother Qadhafi also asked that Libyan support for Malta should continue, and that the remaining Libyan Embassies abroad should be converted into People's Bureaux, and in the Arab world, Bureaux for Arab fraternity.

Jamahiriya Review presents extracts from Brother Qadhafi's anniversary speech below. Next month, we will have more coverage of the celebrations of the 1st September Revolution, and comment on the significance of the speech for the Arab nation and its struggle against Zionism.

BROTHER QADHAFI began his speech by welcoming members of fraternal delegations from Arab countries and other Third World, western and socialist nations. Their presence, he said, was an expression of the broad friendship linking the Libyan Arab people with the people of the world and with all forces which uphold freedom and liberty.

Brother Qadhafi continued: 'Syria, which stands in the front line of confrontation, is resisting Zionism, colonialism and reaction. Strong Arab Syria will not be weakened by the processes of capitulation which are taking place in the

Arab region. The total collapse of the Egyptian front and its total capitulation to the enemy will not affect Syria's splendid historic steadfastness; nor will it be affected by the reactionary plotting around it and inside it — reactionary plotting backed by the forces of colonialism, reaction and Zionism — to dismember the Syrian front of steadfastness.

'Brothers: Syria with its heroic people, its heroic President, its heroic Party, and its heroic army deserves every support and every praise. We are totally proud of the heroic Syrian stance. Had it not been for Syria's steadfastness, the calamity would have been total and the loss would have been total. But it is the Syrian steadfastness that strengthens the determination of the Arab nation, it is this that compensates for the collapse of the Egyptian front, it is this that backs the Palestine Resistance and it is this that strengthens the Lebanese patriotic forces. Consequently, Syria's stance of steadfastness reflects positively on Arab morale from the Gulf to the Ocean.

'Those who are plotting against Syria are plotting against the entire Arab nation and its central cause — Palestine. The dismemberment of the Syrian front from within has no explanation except to enable the Israeli enemy to establish his foothold firmly on the Golan and throughout the occupied Arab territories, and to destroy any Arab force resisting him.

'Those who are plotting against the unity of Syria and against Syria's steadfastness are joining the enemy even if they carry the Ka'bah over their heads. It is in the interest of the Israelis, the Americans and the reactionaries and all the enemies of the Arab nation to destroy Syria, to dismember Lebanon and finish Jordan so that the armies of the Zionist enemy can realise the great dream of the Zionists: the establishment of their greater state from the Euphrates to the Nile...

'We can confirm that the oil wealth owned by the Libyan people is now under the full control of the people. All the necessary industries for oil by-products have been established. Thus the coming years will witness a huge industrial strategy in Libya. A major historical material change will occur in the life of the Libyan people and, indeed, in the potential of Arab nationalism as a whole... Indeed, the Libyan people will be able, after completing the construction of the huge petrochemical works, to export their output to various countries. In the coming years Libya will become an exporter of strategic products that no Third World country has been able either to manufacture or export.

'Among the new tasks of the revolutionary forces is the stepping up of the



Muammar Qadhafi calls for Arab unity in Tripoli's Green Square

popular march on the embassies; in the near future, the march should be stepped up so that it will take place on the Libyan embassies in the Arab countries and transform them into bureaux for Arab fraternity.'

Revolutionary committees should also take over the information media and transform them into platforms to present the good news about liberation and the establishment of a new society and a new world. The revolutionary committees should also attack favouritism and put an end to the forces of fascism, Brother Qadhafi declared. They should continue to export the revolution and its achievements, he said.

He said that Arabs should not sell oil to other Arab countries at world prices; nationalism should not permit it. Brother Qadhafi continued: 'Of course, the developing countries have suffered as a result of oil price rises. But who was the real culprit in this? The capitalist industrial states. Why should we sell oil at 40 dollars? We do so because they have increased the prices of everything we buy from them... The USA and the industrial powers are the cause of the economic crisis in the world. We do not want to sell

(continued on next page)



Part of the military contingent at the anniversary parade

(continued from page 7)

oil at \$40 a barrel. It is they who imposed this price on us.

'The agenda of the People's Congress will contain the question of Malta. Malta is a neighbourly and friendly state. Malta is a poor state in need of aid from the Libyan people. The Libyan people have given Malta a lot of help, and have made great efforts to secure aid to Malta from the Arab states. We thank the Arab countries that have given help to the Maltese people. I have personally written to the heads of rich Arab states so that they would help the Maltese people; in fact some Arab states in the Gulf, Kuwait, and others helped Malta financially. Libyan support for Malta should continue.'

Dealing with Egypt, Brother Qadhafi said that Sadat had 'insulted Egypt, its history, the Arab nation, Islam, the Third World and the whole of mankind because he had kneeled before Zionism, the enemy of the peoples, and because he has recognised the true enemy of the Arab nation... This is a disgrace and will remain so for ever. Sadat will live and in the end die in shame, and will be consigned to the dustbin of history. But Egypt is not Anwar Sadat. Egypt is Arab and her people, land and destiny are Arab. In the end Sadat will not be able, no matter how much he co-operates with Carter, to pull Egypt out of the region that extends from the Gulf to the Atlantic. It will remain here, part of the greater Arab homeland stretching from the Gulf to the Atlantic.

Brother Qadhafi called on the Egyptian people themselves to liberate their country from the Sadat regime. He asked: 'Where are the officers of the Egyptian army? Where are the students of Egypt? Where are the workers and fallahin?

A serious onslaught is being launched against them. Feudalism is on the march again. Exploitation is again on the march. Foreign capitalism is on the march also. US aircraft and armour are in Egyptian territory. But I should like to say that, although Libya possesses conventional — non-nuclear — weapons, and I am saying this so that no other interpretation may be put on it; yes, possesses such weapons and manpower as to be capable of destroying the whole of Egypt. But may God protect it from destruction. I want to say to Sadat and the world that Libyan military power is capable of destroying Egypt, but may God protect Egypt, the land of Nasser, from destruction. We cannot attempt to destroy Egypt.

'Sadat is interested in increasing hatred between the Egyptian and Libyan and other Arab peoples. He is interested in a growing hatred between the Egyptian and Libyan armies. But we, inspired by our nationalism and history, view matters from the standpoint of higher Arab interests and history... We cannot view the army of Egypt, the army of Gamal Abdul Nasser, as a hostile army. The hostile forces are those of Israel and the USA, the forces of enemies who wish to destroy the Arab nation...'

Brother Qadhafi said that Egypt had turned the sea and land between the two countries into a powder keg of minefields, trenches and military fortifications. But, he declared: 'On the Libyan side there are only simple precautions, but no strike forces have been moved to the frontiers. As for the Egyptian side, it has turned its full war effort towards Libya. The forces that were along the Canal and Sinai have been completely redeployed to the Libyan side. Libya should — through the People's Congresses, of course — determine the

possibility of excluding for ever the possibility of Libyan-Egyptian military confrontation. We cannot allow the Libyan army to confront the Egyptian army. The Libyan people cannot be hostile to the Egyptian people...'

'Syria today is alone. It is facing Arab, reactionary, imperialist conspiracies; the Golan is still occupied; also Palestine. Syria is trying very hard to defend Lebanon... Syria is the last trench; if it fails, the Arab nation will enter into a phase of collapse, total collapse. You know my views on the geographical factor; you know too that the geographical factor plays a great role in opposing unity; you know that this factor played a big role in the breaking up of Egyptian-Syrian unity...'

'I should like personally to submit to the People's Congresses a proposal for a unity merger between Libya and Syria; a unity merger in which the Libyan and Syrian peoples will share responsibilities on equal footing.'

Brother Qadhafi's dramatic and timely suggestion was met with prolonged applause from the assembled crowds, and shouts of 'Arab Unity, Arab Unity.'

To underline the seriousness of the merger proposal, Muammar Qadhafi concluded his speech by saying: 'From today, 1st September 1980, I wish officially to serve notice on the Palestine Resistance that I am enlisting as a *fida'i* unless this aim is achieved — unity with Syria, unless this is achieved I swear by God that I shall be going to Upper Galilee as a *fida'i*, it will be an honour for me to die as an individual rather than be head of a state when the Arab nation is submissive and wretched and when, with every passing day its enemy wins victories over it. Apart from the Arab cause and resistance to the enemy I have nothing; I have no palaces, I have no jewels; I have no crown...'

LIBYA is justly proud of the achievements of the past eleven years. No country has changed so rapidly, economically and politically, in such a short time. This review of the successes of the Revolution brings together the great economic progress and the strides towards direct democracy which make Libya a country whose example inspires millions throughout the world. The Jamahiriya system is the realisation of the ideals of Muammar Qadhafi, who set out his Third Universal Theory in the Green Book. Economic development is useless unless it is directed by the masses for their benefit.

FEW COUNTRIES have changed so much and so rapidly as Libya in the past eleven years. The Revolution which overthrew the corrupt western-backed regime of Idris Sannoussi on 1st September 1969 has seen a total transformation from a puppet 'Kingdom' to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya — the state of the masses.

The Sannoussi regime, installed in 1951 by the British with US support, allowed Libya to drift along in currents created mainly by multinational companies. In 1969, the country exhibited all the classic signs of a neo-colony. A tiny elite used their political power to pocket the proceeds from oil, discovered in the early 50's, and the country's only significant natural resource. Even the few jobs created by oil extraction went in the main to expatriate experts. The elite spent its wealth on consumer goods, not industrial investment.

The multinationals controlled Libya's wealth and its government. The distorted economy produced by the foreign-controlled oil industry meant that tens of thousands left the land for the cities in search of wealth which proved, for the masses, to be an illusion. Instead of jobs, they found deprivation; instead of homes they were forced into shanties and hovels. Neither those who came to the towns, nor those who remained on the land, had any basic human rights.

The regime used its troops and police against workers and students who opposed it. Behind Idris stood the British and

Americans. The US Base at Wheelus Field near Tripoli was not intended for the defence of Libya. It was part of the US effort in the Cold War, serving as a reinforcement of the southern flank of NATO and to ensure US access to the vital oil fields of the Middle East.

This virtually total foreign domination of their country led Muammar Qadhafi and the other members of the Free Unionist Officers to assess with care how the situation could be changed. Membership of the armed forces was a conscious part of the strategy. They had already concluded that weak and divided civilian political tendencies could not bring about a popular revolution.

New impetus to the movement was given by the explosion of Arab and nationalist feeling in Libya at the time of the 1967 Middle East war. American offices were attacked and burned, and oil companies buildings were occupied.

The closure of the Suez Canal meant that Libyan oil became even more vital for the West. By 1969, it was obvious that a move had to be made. On September 1st 1969, the Revolution itself passed off with almost no bloodshed. The victory was sealed by the enthusiasm with which the Revolution was greeted by the Libyan masses.

Steps were immediately taken to secure control of Libya's principal resource, its oil, for the Libyan people. After two years of battles with the major oil companies, Libyan prices were the highest of any

OPEC country and participation agreements had been secured with all the companies operating in Libya. BP, which had tried to blockade oil from its former fields which had been nationalised, was decisively beaten.

In the past decade, the battle of the Revolution has been to apply oil revenue to the development of Libya. The initial phase, in 1970 and 1971, saw a three-fold increase in spending on industrial projects compared with previous years. The three year plan from 1973 to 1975 saw industrial and agricultural projects being commenced on an unprecedented scale. Under the current five year plan investment in the non-oil sector has been the priority. In particular, the aim has been to correct the severe damage done to the agricultural sector by the flight from the land in the years before 1969.

The spectacular rise in the standard of living, from a per capita annual income of 15 Dinars in 1960 to 1,800 dinars in 1978, is all the more significant because this wealth is spread throughout the population, not concentrated in the hands of a tiny elite.

Libya's development has been guided throughout by the ideas of Muammar Qadhafi. The Third Universal Theory, a third way rejecting both exploitative capitalism and materialistic communism, was set out in the *Green Book*. Since 1973, the Libyan people have acted on

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The movement towards equality for women has been a most striking aspect of the past eleven years

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Muammar Qadhafi's call to take over and control the institutions of the state and public life. The creation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was the logical direction of the 1st September Revolution. In March 1977, delegates from popular organisations from throughout the country met at Sebha in the first General People's Congress and created the Jamahiriya.

The Jamahiriya system directly involves the people in the control of their own destinies. It is a model of direct democracy unique in the world. It is the embodiment of the ideas set out in the *Green Book*, whose inspiration, particularly in its rejection of the right of anyone to dominate or control the life of another, stems from Islam.

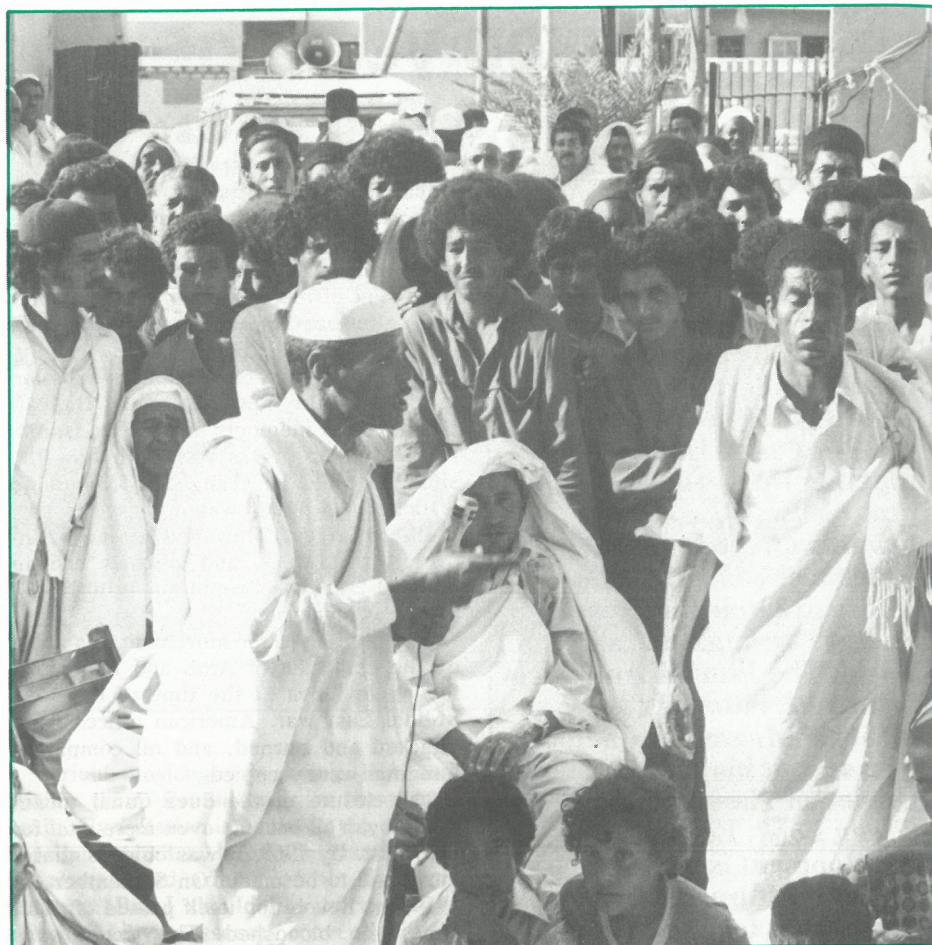
As an Islamic country, Libya has participated actively in the Islamic revival of the past decade. In particular, the people of the Jamahiriya were overjoyed by the fall of the despotic regime of the Shah of Iran at the hands of the Iranian Islamic Revolution.

Support for the struggle of the people of Iran has been just one aspect of Libya's foreign policy over the past ten years. Foreign policy too, is guided by the principles of the *Green Book*. Libya is firmly non-aligned between East and West, but is not neutral. Libya has provided active support for liberation movements in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The past ten years have seen successful struggles for liberation in the former Portuguese African colonies and in Zimbabwe. Libya supported these struggles and now enjoys friendly relations with the new revolutionary governments.

The Jamahiriya's undying support for the struggle of the Palestinian people has earned it the enmity of the United States administration. Repeated warnings from Muammar Qadhafi and other leading Libyans that the road of negotiation and diplomacy would never lead to the liberation of Palestine have been proved correct. The shameful Camp David agreements have accelerated, not slowed, the rapacious Zionist seizure of Arab Palestinian lands. The logical outcome of the American-sponsored 'peace' initiative was seen when Egyptian forces attacked Libya in 1977. As a member of the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation, along with Algeria, Syria, Democratic Yemen and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, Libya has played a crucial role in supporting the right of the Palestinian people to self determination in Palestine, in a true, lasting and just peace.

The eleven years since the 1st September Revolution have been, without doubt, the most momentous in Libya's history.

The Jamahiriya and its people are ready to face the future, united and firmly in control of their own destiny. This, as much as any improvement in their material standard of living, is the real achievement of Al Fateh, the beginning.



A basic People's Congress expresses the wishes of the community

Power to the people by direct democracy

WHEN THE Free Unionist Officers moved on 1st September 1969 to abolish the monarchy of King Idris, it was not just another *coup d'état*. Instead, power was to be placed squarely in the hands of the people. Beginning in 1973, after the Revolution had consolidated itself, workers and students were urged to seize control of their factories and universities, and citizens were encouraged to assume control over the machinery of local government.

But it was in March 1977, when the first General People's Congress was convened at Sebha that the Jamahiriya system of democracy was finally given a formal shape. After a months-long period in which Libyans debated policies and nominated those to attend the Congress, one thousand delegates from People's Committees, professional associations, trade unions and syndicates gathered to hammer out the details of the new political system.

The General People's Congress is the Libyan national legislature, and meets once a year. But it would be wrong to see it as just another parliament; for its agenda and its everyday decisions are subject to the approval of the Basic People's Congresses throughout the country which are open to all Libyans

to attend. They discuss, and reach decisions on all issues, whether of local, regional or national significance. Nothing reaches the agenda of the General People's Congress until the citizens attending the Basic People's Congresses have decided the issue and given a mandate to those who will convey that decision to the national congress.

Basic congresses operate at community level. Administration at the municipal level is organised through Municipal People's Congresses. These comprise members of the basic congresses elected to convey the decisions of their congresses on matters affecting the municipality. But the members of Municipal Congresses can take decisions only in accordance with the wishes of the Basic Congresses.

At both basic and municipal levels, committees are formed to implement policy in such fields as housing, education and health. Committee members are chosen on the basis of their specialist qualifications and remain answerable to the local residents attending the congress meetings, who can remove them if the committees fail to carry through their appointed tasks.

As well as community-based Basic

People's Congresses, similar basic congresses operate in the trade union and professional spheres.

This structure of local government has its parallels in other political systems with their district, borough and county councils, but the critical factor which makes the Jamahiriya system more democratic is that policy-making at all three levels is always subject to the close scrutiny and approval of the people as a whole. At no stage do the people delegate responsibility for decision making to professional politicians.

The same is true for the working of the General People's Congress. Those chosen by basic congresses to attend the People's Congress are expected only to pass on the decisions of their own basic congress. Once the broad structure of national policy has been decided on, it is the duty of those attending the General People's Congress to transmit the decisions to their basic congresses, who are responsible for their implementation.

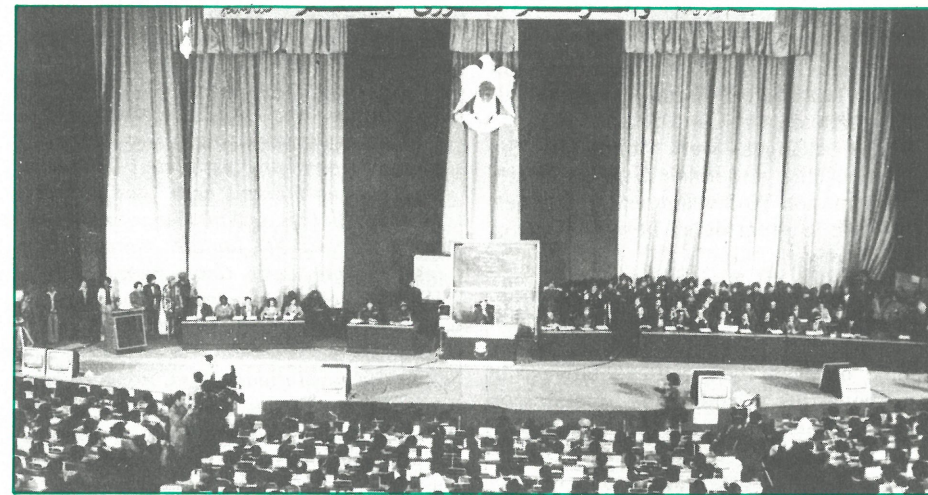
As well as deciding on national policy, it is the function of the General People's Congress to choose both the Secretaries — the Libyan equivalent of ministers — for the coming year, and the Committee of each Secretariat, which comprises members of the General People's Congress and meets on a regular basis to implement policy decisions of the congress.

There are nineteen Secretariats in all, and the Secretaries, together with a Secretary-General, in the General Popular Committee. This might be seen as the equivalent of a cabinet; but again the essential point is that every member of the General Popular Committee is directly responsible to the members of the General People's Congress and through them to the basic congresses and the Libyan people as a whole.

Finally, there is the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress, a seven-member team headed by a Secretary-General. The General Secretariat is in a sense a 'collective prime minister-ship', but its accountability to the people as a whole sets it apart from the premier-ships of traditional democracies.

Outside the system of congresses is the parallel network of revolutionary committees. At the 1979 General People's Congress it was decided that the Revolution should be separated from the exercise of power. Instead, it was to develop as a vanguard movement, constantly urging the populace to adhere to its principles but without any formal authority itself. Revolutionary committees sprang up whose sole task was to propagate the ideals of the Al Fateh Revolution, in effect to act as permanent pressure groups within Libyan society.

This system of direct democracy, with all power devolved into the hands of the people, is without doubt the greatest achievement of the Revolution born on 1st September 1969. For the first time in its history the Libyan people now exercise control over their destiny.



The General People's Congress, focus of the Jamahiriya system

Controversial decisions taken by the General People's Congress

THIS YEAR'S meeting of the General People's Congress in Tripoli in the first week of January took a number of controversial decisions. The strength of the new direct democracy in the Libyan Jamahiriya was evident in the role of the Congress as the forum in which different approaches and different solutions to Libya's problems, both internal and external, could be tested, and where the people could decide on the policies for the Jamahiriya to follow in the succeeding twelve months.

Any country which, like Libya, is seeking to raise the standard of living of its people, to develop its own resources, and to move away from its dependence on a single export, is bound to encounter strains in its economic life. The need to apply oil revenues to development projects is the fundamental economic process in the Jamahiriya, but its execution is not without problems. The tension between the delegates from Basic People's Congresses and the Secretariats of the various departments was evident at the General People's Congress. Delegates were impatient at the delays involved in the completion of development projects. The Secretaries, the Jamahiriya's equivalent of Ministers, aware of the problems which Libya's ambitious development plans bring, particularly in the supply of equipment, raw materials and skilled manpower, were for the most part anxious to counsel and to urge the delegates to accept that everything could not be achieved as quickly as they would like.

Had the General People's Congress been merely the meeting of an ordinary parliamentary body, there would inevitably have been those present, who would have accepted the explanations put forward by the various Secretaries, and confirmed them in their posts. Then they would

have returned to their constituents and rather than ensuring that their constituents' wishes were being carried out by the authorities, they would have explained the wishes of the authorities to the people. The system of direct democracy in the Libyan Jamahiriya precludes this reversal of the role of representative seen in other parliamentary systems.

In the Jamahiriya, this subversion of the wishes of the people is ruled out because the issues which are to be decided at the General People's Congress are discussed in depth at the Basic Congresses. The delegates are thus aware of the wishes of the masses in an informed, rather than a purely formal manner. The depth of understanding makes it possible for the decisions of the General People's Congress to be made by one of the most informed and democratic assemblies anywhere in the world.

The 1980 meeting of the General People's Congress decided to replace the Secretaries of six key Secretariats. The Jamahiriya has a new Petroleum Secretary, Abdel Salem Mohammed Zoughar, who is a petroleum geologist, and who was jailed in 1967 by the British-backed regime of Idris Sannoussi for his political activities. Abu Zaid Omar Dourda left the post of Municipalities Secretary to head the Economy Secretariat; his former position was taken by Mohammed Dweik, formerly an under-secretary in the Land Reclamation and Urban Reform Secretariat. The new Education Secretary is Hafez Zlitni, President of Ghar Younis University in Benghazi. The Information Secretariat is now headed by Mahmoud Hijazi, another former under-secretary, formerly at the Municipalities

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Secretariat. The new Communications and Marine Transport Secretary is Salem al-Bukhari Houada.

These changes were made in the context of the underspending in Libya's transformation (development) budget, dealt with in great detail in our review of the economy.

In very few countries is the discussion of foreign policy and of relationship with other states a matter for decision by the people or even their representatives. In most countries a 'consensus' operates on foreign affairs between the major political parties. But the General People's Congress took these matters into its own hands. Economic ties with the People's Republic of China were severed as a response to the Chinese decision to supply fighter aircraft to Egypt. And dissatisfaction with the position of those Palestinian organisations which seemed to be on the brink of accepting the partition of Palestine, and recognising Israel, led to a decision to suspend — but not to end — financial support for Al Fateh, largest of the Palestinian organisations.

The clear and growing distinction between the Libyan Revolution, with its own organisation of Revolutionary Committees, and the administration of the country, was illustrated by the absence from the General People's Congress of Muammer Qadhafi, who relinquished the post of General Secretary of the General People's Congress in March 1979. Colonel Qadhafi's message to the 1980 General People's Congress was sent on the final day, after it had completed its deliberations. The message said that the power of the people had become a 'practical and concrete reality both for those who acknowledge it and for those who do not.'

Colonel Qadhafi underlined that the separation of the Revolution from the administration of the country had been shown to be correct. Revolutionary leaderships throughout the Arab world which had taken state power, used it, and had 'opposed themselves to the people in the name of power' and this had 'led to the repression of the masses and the transformation of revolutions into institutions that are against the people.'

Less than three years since the emergence of the Jamahiriya system in Libya, its principle architect, Muammer Qadhafi, thus felt able in both words and deeds to express his confidence in the success of political decentralisation and democratic participation in national affairs.

Economic development is the central struggle for the whole of the Third World, but it must be development with certain aims, and not for its own sake. As Colonel Qadhafi put it in his message to the General People's Congress: 'What is essential is not whether mistakes are made, nor whether a project has been delayed or completed. It is the victory of freedom that is essential.'

Housing

AT THE time of the Great Al Fateh Revolution on 1st September 1969 Libya's housing situation was chronic. There were an estimated 300,000 dwelling units but there was a total of 365,000 families in the country, so more than 65,000 families were homeless. At the same time, many of the housing units were sub-standard and included more than 120,000 shacks and caves.

In the revolutionary era, housing has been seen as one of the most basic human needs and the most strenuous efforts in the housing field have marked the past eleven years. No less than 110,212 housing units were constructed in the first six years of the Revolution, compared with a total of only 26,000 units built in the last six years of the old regime. By 1978 the number of units built since the Revolution had risen to 148,626. And the last shanty dwelling had been ceremonially burned in 1976.

The heavy emphasis placed on housing is reflected in the vastly increased outlays on this sector in recent years. In the first eight years of the Revolution a total of LD 783.8 million were spent, almost five times more than in the eight years preceding it.

There could be no more eloquent testimony to the priority accorded to housing in the Libyan Jamahiriya than the monument built to mark the First of September Revolution. It isn't a statue or a plaque. It is a giant new housing project for more than 100,000 people, three per cent of the country's entire population, on the edge of Tripoli. Specially designed, well-built, brightly coloured in blues, greens and reds, the project will be completed in about a year's time.



New housing where before there were only slums

Ambitious development plans

1980 IS the final year of the Libyan Jamahiriya's current five-year Transformation (development) Plan. Development spending for this year has been raised to a staggering £4,000 million — a 55 per cent increase over 1979. The economy has thus continued a rapid growth. The jump in development expenditure was announced by Planning Secretary Musa Abu Freiwa in January when he gave his report to the General People's Congress. Spiralling inflation in western countries, causing steep rises in the costs of imported goods and services, is a principal cause of the increase.

Mr Freiwa warned that the 1980 allocation constituted 'the maximum limit for a transformation budget' and he made clear in his report to the General People's Congress that a number of projects in the current plan will be carried forward beyond 1980. This was underlined in the report of the Secretary of the General People's Committee, Mr Jedallah Azourzi Talhi. Referring to the backlog of projects, he told congress, 'We have entered the final year of the plan with overdue projects worth LD 1,600 million (£2,667 million). This means that the workforce is exhausted and that we have undertaken tasks beyond our powers.'

The difficulty in attaining all the development plan targets is not, however, seen as a major problem. By any standards the Transformation Plan represents a highly ambitious programme of socio-economic development and many of the projects depended on the prior completion of infrastructural facilities. The 1976-80 plan originally provided for investments totalling £11,950 million but this was later revised upwards to £15,417 million.

The failure to meet some of the plan

targets was, however, only one facet of the economic reports given to the Congress. Mr Abu Freiwa was able to report that development progress had been encouraging during 1979. Industrial output rose by 15.7 per cent over the previous year, mainly the result of rapid growth in the petrochemicals sector, which is the focus of the Jamahiriya's industrialisation programme. Output increased from 305,000 tons in 1978 to 500,000 tons in 1979 and the latter year saw the first exports of surplus oil by-products such as ammonia and methanol, shipments of which totalled 195,000 tons. The petrochemicals sector has continued to surge ahead since January, with particular emphasis being accorded the development of the complex at Ras Lanouf on the Gulf of Sirte about mid-way between Benghazi and Misrata.

The significance of petrochemicals in the Jamahiriya's development programme was highlighted in late May with an announcement from the General People's Committee for Planning that of 44 factories

Education

THE LAST eleven years have seen an unparalleled expansion of educational opportunities, reflecting the conviction that education is a basic human right and also the urgent need of the expanding economy for skilled manpower.

By the 1978/79 academic year the number of pupils in elementary stage schools totalled 604,090, more than double the figure in the 1968/69 year. Preparatory schools had expanded their intake no less than seven times to 201,211, reflecting the new policy of compulsory free education for children. The number of secondary school children had risen four-fold to 28,139. The crucially important teachers training colleges had multiplied their enrolment six times, to 28,735. Equally impressive had been the development of technical education. In 1978/79 students numbered 7,553, a six-fold increase over the figure ten years earlier.

There have also been great strides in university level education. In the 1972/73 academic year the University of Libya was established in Benghazi and Tripoli, now known respectively as the Gar Younis and Al Fateh Universities. And news came in July of an ambitious new project to establish a third Libyan university at Sebha, deep in the Sahara, reflecting the current policy of distributing educational establishments as widely as possible within the Jamahiriya. The project will cost an estimated \$100 million and will take up to four years to complete.

to be established shortly, 14 would be for chemicals and petrochemicals.

With the construction sector being so vital in Libya's development programme, it was encouraging that Mr Freiwa could report a 23 per cent growth for the cement industry, up from the 1978 level of 1.3 million tons to 1.6 million tons in 1979. Even these impressive production figures will be surpassed in a few years, however, for a 2.5 million tonne capacity cement works is currently under construction at Derna and a contract for the construction of a one million tonne per annum plant was reported in April. This is scheduled to come into operation in 1983.

Agricultural production in 1979, said Mr Abu Freiwa, was up 8.5 per cent over the previous year, with wheat production up from 99,000 tons to 110,000 tons, vegetable output rising from 165,000 to 575,000 tons and fruit production increasing from 157,000 to 190,000 tons. This year's figures seem set to be even higher, for in May it was reported that farms in the south had recorded excellent wheat harvests, with yields up to a record 8 tonnes/hectare.

Libya's infrastructure has also seen great development. A 21 per cent increase in the electric power sector was recorded in 1979, 960 kilometres of road was laid and the merchant fleet increased in size from six to eleven vessels.

The scale of the Jamahiriya's development efforts was reflected in a November report by the prestigious London journal *Middle East Economic Digest* that Libya had been the fourth largest investor in development contracts in the third quarter of 1979. The country accounted for 10.17 per cent of the total Middle East spending, with major investment sectors being shown as housing, industry and telecommunications. And the success of the development programme was underlined in

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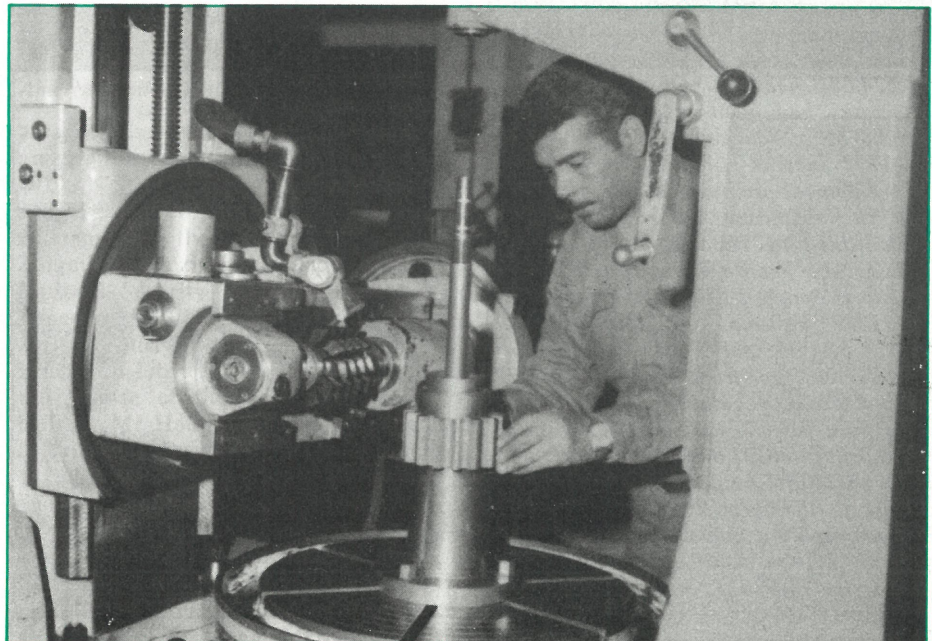
Health

LIFE EXPECTANCY figures are a very good guide to the efficiency of a country's health care system and recently published figures from the World Bank, showing that by 1977, life expectancy at birth in Libya stood at 55 years, confirm the progress that has been achieved in the Jamahiriya since the Revolution. In 1960 life expectancy was only 45 years and by 1974 this had risen to 53 years.

The rate at which new hospitals have been constructed in Libya in recent years offers the most eloquent testimony to the emphasis that has been placed on health care since the Revolution. In 1968 there were only 41 hospitals in the country with a total of 5,646 beds. By 1978 the number of hospitals had increased by 50 per cent to 60 and the number of beds to 13,347.

Reviewing the progress that had been achieved in the health sector in his address to the General People's Congress in Tripoli in January, Planning Secretary Mr Musa Abu Freiwa reported that by 1979 the number of hospital beds had increased to 13,418 and that the figure was expected to reach 14,160 by the end of this year. The rate of hospital building has far outstripped Libya's population growth rate, for in 1968 there were only 3.1 beds per thousand people, a ratio that had risen to five per thousand by 1978.

There has been a corresponding increase in the supply of medical personnel. Before 1969, one doctor served 5,800 of the population and one nurse 2,040. By 1974 the ratios had already improved significantly, with one doctor per 1,040 people and one nurse per 340 people. According to the Planning Secretary's report, the ratio of doctors to people had risen to 1:769 by 1979.



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March when the Libyan News Agency, JANA, reported that the latest figures showed that per capita income rose from 642 Libyan dinars in 1970 to 1,964 dinars in 1979. Further, sources in the General People's Committee for Planning were quoted as saying this was the result not of increasing oil production but of improved economic productivity.

With Libya's massive oil revenues providing a formidable engine of economic development, there is little doubt that the national economy will continue to record great strides. 1981 will see the start of a new five year plan, the third since the Revolution, and the 1981-86 plan is reportedly being formulated in the context of a draft national socio-economic plan covering the years up to the end of the century. Testimony for the bright outlook came in two recent reports on the Jamahiriya prepared by the National Westminster Bank and Lloyds Bank. These concluded that the country's moves towards Islamic socialism have not curtailed the Jamahiriya's substantial trade with the west and that its 11 per cent per annum growth rate offers good opportunities for exporters of capital goods.

Agriculture

WITH MORE than 90 per cent of the Libyan Jamahiriya comprising barren desert, it is not the most promising region for agriculture. Yet despite the difficulties posed by the limited water supply, the country has embarked on a massive programme of agricultural development.

Libya aims to reclaim and develop an eventual 3.5 million hectares for agricultural use. Agrarian Reform Secretary Bashir Jawdah told the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation in Brussels last November. He said that 30 per cent of the national income is being allocated to agriculture. The 1976-90 Transformation (Development) plan calls for the reclamation of 1,624,591 hectares. Of this, 714,935 hectares had been reclaimed by the end of March last year.

The success of the agricultural development programme, which hinges on the extension of irrigation, was underlined by Planning Secretary Mr Musa Abu Freiwa in his report to the General People's Congress in January. In 1979, he said, agricultural output rose by 8.5 per cent, with wheat production up from 99,000 tons to 110,000 tons, vegetable output increasing from 165,000 tons to 575,000 tons, and fruit from 157,000 to 190,000.

Agricultural output looks set to continue its rapid growth. In May this year it was reported that wheat harvests on farms in the south were excellent, with yields up to a record eight tonnes per hectare.

Libya and the West

LIBYA'S RELATIONSHIP with western nations — and particularly with the United States — have formed a central, and controversial, theme for the world's media over the past year. In particular, the relationship between the Jamahiriya and Billy Carter, brother of the US President Jimmy Carter, has attracted a great deal of attention, but rather less understanding.

Sections of the US media have used Billy Carter's relationship with Libya, and his visits there, in an attempt to discredit Jimmy Carter in the year of a US election. This has been linked with alleged defects in Billy Carter's personality — specifically, the allegation that he was an alcoholic. There has also been the scarcely-veiled suggestion that both he and the Libyan Jamahiriya, through its representatives, acted either illegally or improperly in the relationship.

Such claims have been systematically refuted by the Foreign Liaison Bureau of the Libyan Jamahiriya, which is responsible for all non-government level international contacts, and by the Libyan People's Bureau in Washington. But the campaign directed against the Jamahiriya and Billy Carter must be seen in the context of US foreign policy and US-Libyan relations in the eleven years since the Al Fateh Revolution.

Libya suffered a great deal under colonialism before 1951, and under the neo-colonial set up of 'nominal independence' until 1969. Since 1970, when US and British military bases were expelled from its soil, Libya has provided an example to other Arab and Third World countries of independence in foreign policy which successive US administrations have striven desperately to counter.

Libya's position towards the United States had been put forward time and time again by Libyan representatives in international gatherings and to the international media. It has been set out by Muammer Qadhafi himself and many

others. Libya wants friendship with all the peoples of the world. But the commitment of the Al Fateh Revolution to world wide liberation, and in particular, to the cause of Palestine, has brought it into conflict with the United States administrations.

In particular, Libya — along with the other Arab states in the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation — opposes the Camp David agreements between the United States, Israel and Egypt. These agreements cannot bring a just and lasting peace to the Middle East, because they fail to deal with the Zionist aggression which is the root cause of the conflict. The Camp David agreement contains nothing for the Palestinians, and is simply a cover for Israeli and US ambitions in the region.

Libya's leading role in persuading Arab opinion of the immorality and impossibility of this 'solution' has been vital in getting all other Arab states, whether dubbed 'radical' or 'conservative' by the western media, to oppose Camp David. So the Libyan desire for friendship with the people of the United States has been systematically rebuffed by US governments.

The United States is the most powerful nation in the imperialist world system. Its interests, as it sees them, do not stop at its borders. The United States works actively to export its system — private enterprise capitalism — to the rest of the world. Decisions are made in Washington which affect the future of the peoples of the whole world — including the Libyan Jamahiriya. Some foreign diplomatic missions in the US capital have thus become like peasants at the court of a powerful ruler. They seek to influence the actions of the United States, and so to alter decisions which, formally and constitutionally, are the prerogative of the US alone. The President, Senators and Representatives are elected by the US people alone; but their decisions affect the

whole world, and the rest of the world is thus disenfranchised.

Six thousand people are registered under American laws as agents of foreign governments in the US. Washington is full of people seeking to influence American policy in this or that direction. The Zionist lobby for Israel is by far the largest and most successful foreign lobby; those of Third World countries are tiny by comparison. In the US, Libya has not sought to replicate the public relations exercises and back door pressures which some countries mount. It has concentrated instead on bypassing the often biased, unfavourable view of the Jamahiriya held by the State Department and reflected in the press. Direct, people-to-people contact has been the aim.

For example, the Libyan People's Bureau in the US gave \$10,000 to Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) a Chicago-based self-help organisation run by the internationally-recognised black leader, Rev. Jesse Jackson. In October 1978, over 100 Americans, including Senators and a Congressman, attended an Arab-American People's Dialogue in Tripoli. By inviting journalists, politicians, farmers, teachers and business people in this way, the Libyans wanted to establish contacts beyond the usual round of diplomatic encounters.

The Foreign Liaison Bureau of the Libyan Jamahiriya, which was responsible for the organisation of the Arab-American People's Dialogue, was also Billy Carter's host during his visit. When a delegation from the Jamahiriya led by the Chairman of the Foreign Liaison Bureau, Ahmed Shahati, visited the United States in 1979, Billy Carter was in turn their host when the delegation visited his home state, Georgia.

The Foreign Liaison Bureau has vigorously denied American press suggestions of impropriety in its relationship with Billy Carter in a statement issued through the Jamahiriya Arab News Agency, Ahmed Shahati pointed out that similar relations had been established between the Bureau and many other American delegations, listing fifteen visits by American delegations in the past three years.

The President's brother, the Foreign Liaison Bureau said, 'is being subjected to a biased, Zionist, campaign, the aim of which is to damage the name of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its friends.'

In August 1979, after Billy Carter had visited Libya, and after he had hosted the Libyan delegation headed by Ahmed Shahati, he asked again to visit the Jamahiriya. He apparently wished to try and improve the business prospects of Charter Oil, an oil firm with which he had concluded a deal. But his visit was fruitless. As a result, he encountered problems with the US tax authorities; the commission which he would have received from the oil firm had he been successful was not paid.

Feeling that this lack of success had in part been due to them, the Libyans agreed to lend Billy Carter \$500,000. \$220,000 was in fact paid, in January and April this year.

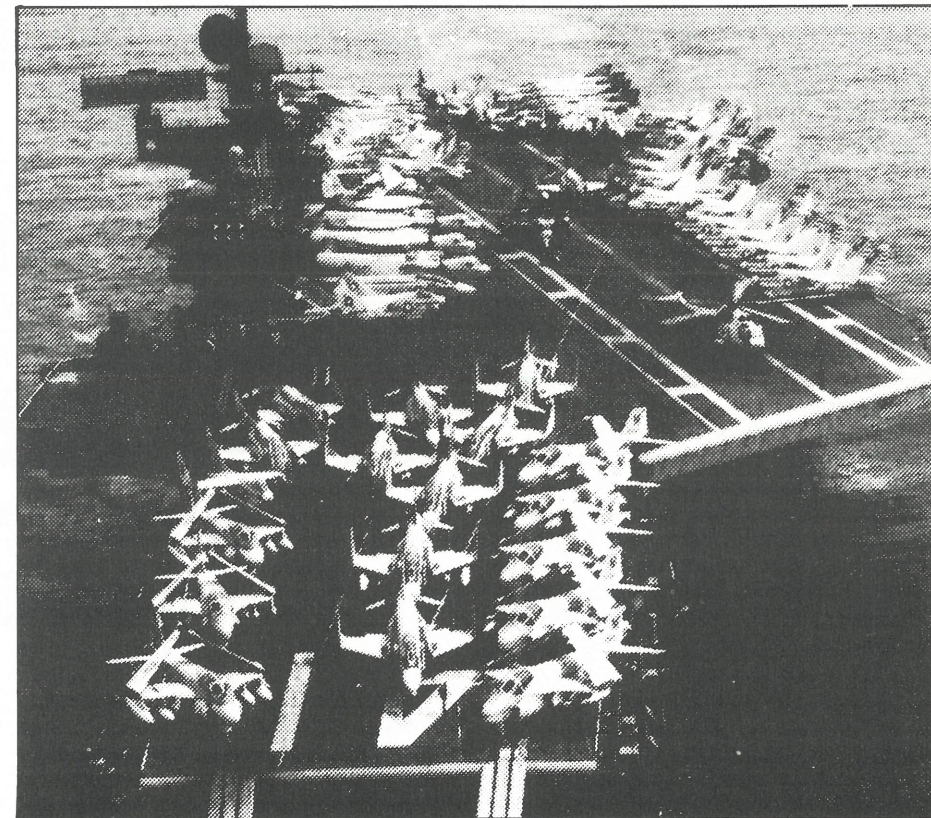
Ali Houderi, who heads the Libyan People's Bureau in Washington, gave the full story to the US correspondent of the London weekly *The New Statesman*. As he said, the timing of the events shows that Libya was not paying for the political influence of the President's brother.

Indeed, the reverse seems to have been the case. The US administration was eager to use Billy Carter in an attempt to get its way in the region, particularly over the matter of the Americans detained in Iran.

Recent years have brought about a decline in US power and influence. Its dominance has been challenged in two key

tribed as 'a charming fashion', for further Libyan pressure on behalf of the hostages, and expressed concern about the Embassy in Tripoli.

So while the Libyans were cultivating the friendship of Billy Carter, among hundreds of other Americans, it was in fact the White House which was anxious to use the relationship to further US aims. Libya's goals were set out in the statement of the Foreign Liaison Bureau: 'Friendly relations between the American and Arab people can be promoted once the former have understood the whole truth about the humanitarian cause of the Arab people — the cause of the Palestinian people. These relations will materialise once Americans realise that Israel is an occupying power supported militarily and politically by the United States, and that this support has made



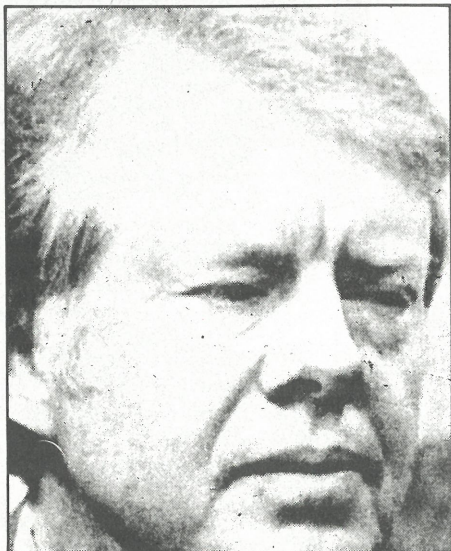
America's military might—a form of terrorism

areas of the world: in Vietnam in 1975 and by the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979.

In November 1979, Mr Houderi was summoned to the White House to meet Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's National Security Advisor. He was surprised to find Billy Carter in Mr Brzezinski's office. Mr Brzezinski asked Mr Houderi if Libya would assist in securing the release of the detained Americans in Iran. Mr Houderi relayed the request to Tripoli. He attended a second meeting at which he met both Mr Brzezinski and President Carter, at which both the issue of the Americans in Iran and the attack by Libyans, enraged at the US intervention in Iran, on the US Embassy in Tripoli, were discussed. President Carter asked, in which Mr Houderi des-

the Zionist entity capable of its escalating intransigence in its theft of Arab lands.'

Libya supports both the Palestinian cause and friendly relationships between peoples. Its open pursuit of these goals has earned it a great deal of respect among ordinary Americans. But the US has sought to turn these people-to-people links to its short term advantage, without changing its underlying hostility to the Libyan Revolution. The difficulties which President Carter has encountered over this so-called 'Billygate' affair have come largely because official spokesmen sought to conceal the eagerness with which the White House used its contacts with Libya when it suited the administration, and yet at the same time proceeded with the usual denigration of the Jamahiriya and its Revolution.



President Carter



Defence Secretary Harold Brown

THE LABEL 'terrorist' is freely bestowed by the west on those who resist its interests by force of arms. But western media are strangely silent when US-supported Zionist extremists, with the connivance of the Israeli government, seek to maim and murder Palestinian leaders. Bassam Shaka was a victim of such a cowardly attack. It has served only to reinforce his unswerving dedication to the cause of his people.



Bassam Shaka — a symbol of courage

Prior to the bombing both the military governor and the Israeli Minister of Defence had personally threatened him with violence. He had been maimed by the Zionists, he said, because he was a citizen carrying out his duty to his city, his people and his country, Palestine. He described himself as a symbol of Israel's so-called democracy.

Mayor Shaka told the reporters that the Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories were now suffering repression more ruthless and brutal than at any time since the occupation began in 1967. He characterised Israel's purported annexation of Arab Jerusalem as only the first step towards the annexation and Judaisation of all the occupied territories.

He gave a stern warning of the danger of a new war in the region, stemming from Israel's racist and expansionist policy, saying, 'There are clear indications of the possibility of the outbreak of a war involving Israel. There are concentrations of forces on the northern borders with Syria and Lebanon. In addition we have got used to the fact that every internal crisis in Israel is followed by a war.'

Mayor Shaka detailed the restrictions to which all West Bank mayors have been subject since the new 'iron fist' policy was adopted by the Zionists following the Palestinian resistance operation in Hebron in early May that left six armed Zionist settlers dead. He said all mayors were now forbidden to leave their own towns, to meet journalists or make any statements to the press and that they were not allowed to hold or take part in any meetings.

The Nablus mayor expressed his confidence that the plans of the US, Israeli and Egyptian leaders to impose the unjust Camp David scheme on the Palestinian people would fail. Plans for a limited form of autonomy for the Palestinians of the 1967 occupied territories would leave them still stateless and under occupation. The mayor left his audience of reporters in no doubt as to his unshakeable confidence in the ultimate victory of the Palestinian struggle, and underscored his commitment to the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which he described as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Palestinians die in Zionist jails

RESISTANCE TO the Zionist occupation of Palestine takes many forms. Even those freedom fighters who have been captured by the enemy continue to struggle for their aims with the only weapons at their disposal—their bodies. Hunger strikes are now taking place in all Zionist jails, and they have already claimed their first martyrs.

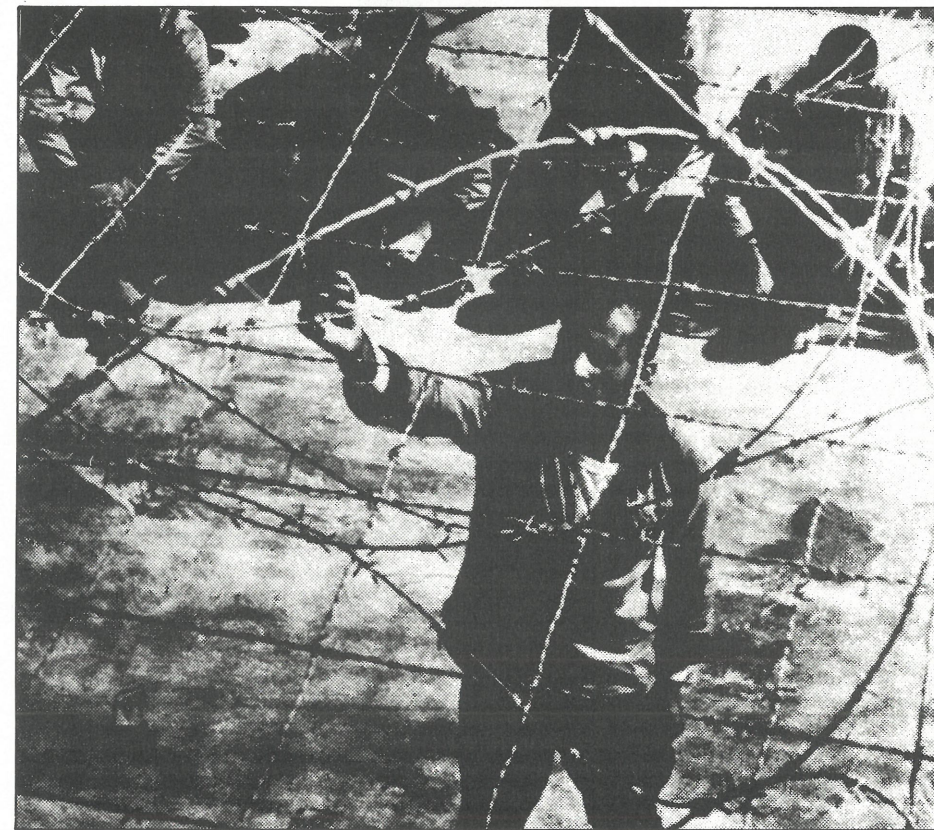
TWO PALESTINIANS, serving life sentences in Zionist prisons for resistance activities, have died as a result of force-feeding after their participation in a hunger strike to protest against the inhuman conditions in which they are held. The two deaths prompted a wave of protest demonstrations by Palestinians. The hunger strike also spread to other Zionist prisons.

The original hunger strike was inaugurated on 14th July by the 74 inmates of Nafha prison, in the Negev desert, to protest against the conditions of their detention. In a document smuggled out of the jail, they describe their circumstances thus: 'The cells are three metres wide by six metres long. We are ten to a cell. The ventilation is very bad. The air comes into the cells through holes pierced in the ceilings. The doors are sealed tightly and don't let any air in. We find it difficult to breathe. Light does not come into our cells. The toilets are inside. There is a small faucet but no wash basin.'

The document continues, 'The food is very bad. There is no fresh food, no vegetables or fruit, and the portions are too small.' The prisoners eat sitting on the floor and have no beds or mattresses. The daily walk, lasting only about one hour, takes place in a yard measuring ten square metres.

On the tenth day of the hunger strike, Mohammed Shahada Ja'afri died. The second man, Rassem Muhammad Hilwa, died two days later. Both prisoners died after crude rubber tubes had been thrust down their throats to force-feed them. Zionist officials said the deaths were accidental but a lawyer acting for the prisoners said they had been beaten and force-fed with salt water.

The deaths prompted widespread protest demonstrations by the occupied Palestinians. On 23rd July, following the first death, hundreds of Palestinian women marched through occupied East Jerusalem urging merchants along their



Nafha jail—thousands of Palestinian militants are held by the Zionist colonisers

route to shut shop. The day after, relatives of the hunger strikers held a sit-in at the Jerusalem offices of the International Red Cross in solidarity with the inmates. Shouting slogans and carrying placards, the protesters demanded that the prisoners be treated 'in accordance with the declaration of human rights'. They reached the Red Cross offices after a brief protest outside the British consulate in East Jerusalem. Earlier in the week they had held similar protests in front of the French consulate and inside the United States consulate. Also on 24th July, a group of Palestinian students demonstrated in support of the hunger strikers in Bethlehem.

The protest movement escalated rapidly and on 25th July nine Palestinian mothers themselves went on hunger strike in the Red Cross offices in solidarity with their sons in the Nafha prison. They declared they would fast until their sons' demands for better conditions were met.

On 1st August, thousands of Palestinians flooded into the streets of East Jerusalem from the Al Aqsa Mosque following Friday prayers and marched through the city shouting slogans against the Israeli occupation and the Israeli move to annex the Holy City. Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka, who lost his legs in a recent Zionist terrorist bombing, defied orders issued by the Zionist military government banning West Bank mayors from leaving their towns and joined the

Jerusalem demonstration. He was carried round the city shoulder-high and made a point of visiting the Red Cross headquarters where the sit-in and hunger strike were in progress.

He declared, 'We all live in a big prison but the suffering of the prisoners at Nafha is the most painful. Sooner or later this Nafha hell will be closed down.'

Despite Zionist attempts to stamp out the hunger strike by the prisoners by moving some of those from Nafha to the Ramleh prison, the protest quickly spilled over to other prisons and by early August had reached major proportions. With Palestinian inmates of Ramleh, Gaza, Ashqelon and Beersheba prisons joining their brethren at Nafha on hunger strike, the numbers participating had reached 1,000.

When he arrived in London on 15th August, Nablus mayor Bassam Shaka launched an impassioned plea for western opinion to rally behind the hunger strikers. 'In the name of our people, I call on all friendly forces and groups in Britain to come to the aid of the prisoners who face certain death,' he declared. He accused the Zionist authorities of attempting the physical liquidation of political prisoners and disclosed that the body of one of the dead hunger strikers had two knife wounds—in the back and the neck. He pointed out that the prisoners' demands 'indicate the sort of treatment they are receiving. They are demanding basic human rights'.

Hotels expansion

THE CURRENT shortage of hotel accommodation in the Libyan Jamahiriya is expected to ease considerably by the end of 1982, reports *Middle East Economic Digest*. By then, an extra 1,268 hotel rooms will have been provided in Tripoli alone.

The first hotel to open will be the Oasis, due for completion at the beginning of 1981. To cost \$13.5 million, it will include conference rooms. It will be followed at the end of 1981 by the 200 room hotel at Novotel's Suq at Talaat complex, west of Tripoli port. The luxury Novotel, scheduled to open at the end of 1982, will also have conference rooms, as well as a swimming pool and an international class restaurant.

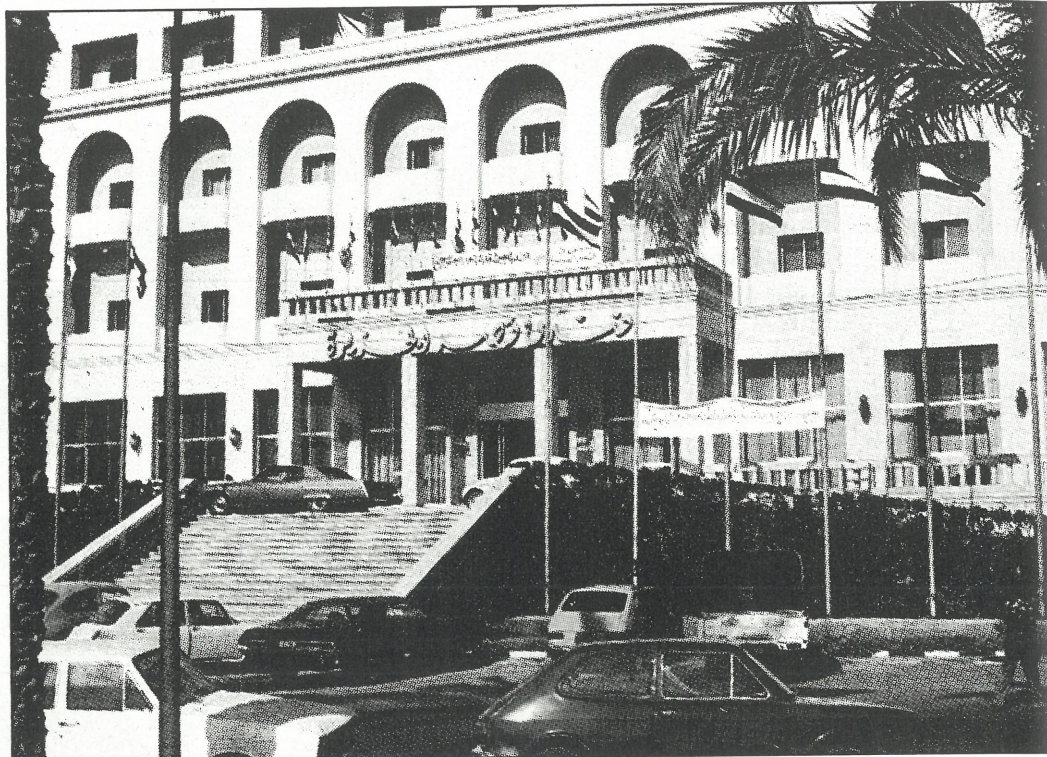
The similarly equipped luxury Grand Hotel is to open in summer 1982. Sweden's Skanska Cementgjuteriet has the \$62.3 million construction contract and by June this year the firm had begun to lay the hotel's foundations. The hotel will be managed by Grand Metropolitan Hotels Worldwide of the UK.

Another luxury hotel and conference hall complex has been designed by Italy's Società Tecnica Internazionale, which is waiting for the client to issue tender documents for the construction stage. The hotel, with a swimming pool and tennis and squash courts, will have a conference hall equipped with simultaneous translation systems.

Two tourist complexes have been designed by the UK's Robert Matthew Johnson-Marshall & Partners. One is at Gar Younis near Benghazi and the other at Janzour, about 25 kilometres west of Tripoli on the road to Sabratha. Both complexes are intended to cater for the domestic tourist market and both will have shops, restaurants, swimming pools and beach cabins. In addition, Janzour will have a go-kart track, cinema and bowling alley. Once a contractor is chosen, the complexes will take two to three years to complete.

Spending rises

THE OVERALL development budget in the 1976-80 Transformation Plan has been increased to \$33,363 million from \$31,239 million, according to the Paris weekly *Moniteur du Commerce*. This is the second increase in the budget, which was originally set at \$24,214 million. Libya's development spending for this year was set at \$7,920 million in January, but has now been revised upwards to \$8,534 million while the administrative budget for this year now stands at \$3,208 million.



Hotels are often full — expansion plans will fill a real need

The next five year plan, for 1981 to 1985, is scheduled to be debated by the General People's Congress when it convenes in the autumn.

Oil storage contract for UK firm

A \$15 MILLION contract for the supply of three oil storage tanks at the Tobruk tank farm and terminal has been awarded by the Arabian Gulf Oil Company to the UK's Capper Neill International. Each of the three tanks will have a capacity of 500,000 barrels of crude and will be 260 feet in diameter. The company will also manufacture a smaller relief tank. Work has already begun on the tank foundations and associated infrastructure and the completion target is mid-1981. The Tobruk tank farm's existing capacity is between two and two and a half million barrels.

Capper Neill International is not the only British firm to have benefited in recent weeks from the development of Libya's oil terminals. In early August it was reported that the UK's Dunlop (Oil and Marine Division) has an order worth \$2.4 million to supply floating oil hoses for a single-point mooring at the Oasis Oil Company's El Sider oil terminal.

Progress in Petrochemicals

DEVELOPMENT IS forging ahead at the Jamahiriya's two most important new petrochemical

complexes, at Ras Lanouf and Abu Kammash.

In August, it was announced that South Korea's Hyundai Construction Company had received a letter of intent for civil engineering work valued at \$350 million at the proposed port of Ras Lanouf, which lies on the Gulf of Sirte between Benghazi and Misrata. Plans for the port have been drawn up by the UK's Rendel, Palmer & Tritton, and provide for two 5.4 kilometre breakwaters, three jetties and 600 metres of quay for general cargo. More than 1.5 million cubic metres will have to be dredged and 2 million square metres of land will be reclaimed. The plans also provide for the construction of 1,600 metres of roads, as well as buildings.

At the end of July *Middle East Economic Digest* reported that the French based Société Commerciale des Transports Transatlantiques has a contract to transport plant from countries of origin to the ethylene and oil refinery complex under construction at Ras Lanouf. The work involves moving plant of up to 750 tonnes in weight and 80 metres in length. Companies from 12 countries are supplying equipment for the complex.

It was also reported in July that work at the giant petrochemicals complex at Abu Kammash near the Tunisian frontier should be completed by November. The complex, under construction by a consortium led by West Germany's Salzgitte Industrie, has a planned annual capacity of 50,000-60,000 tonnes of PVC, 35,000 tonnes of table salt, 45,000 tonnes of caustic soda,

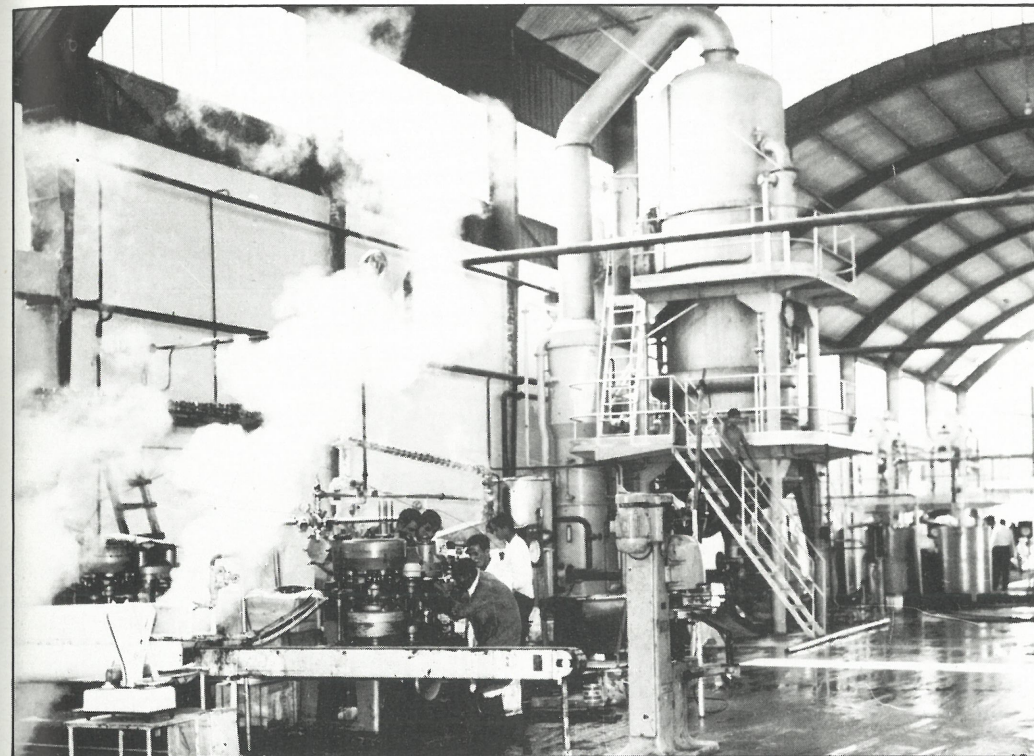
4-5,000 tonnes of liquid chlorine and 10,000 tonnes of hypochloride. Costs of the plant are \$748.8 million.

It was also reported in early August that Technimont, a subsidiary of Italy's Montedison, is negotiating to build a large chemicals plant, but no details of the work are yet available.

OPEC facts and fiction

'WHEN IT comes to OPEC and the role of its crude oil, past misconceptions and current misrepresentation in the world's media have tended to build up an OPEC myth that obscures the real facts of the organisation's cause.' These words come from the foreword of a booklet just published by OPEC, entitled *Facts and Figures: A Comparative Analysis*, which shows that the greater part of the price of oil accrues to the developed world and not to OPEC countries and that the OPEC member states are spending much more on development aid than the OECD states, when expressed as a proportion of GNP.

OPEC's share (including production costs) of each barrel of oil products sold in western Europe is only 28.4 per cent, says the booklet, while multinational oil companies take 29.4 per cent as profit and costs. The other 41.8 per cent constitutes taxes imposed within the consumer countries. The booklet shows that while OPEC increased oil prices by 31 per cent in the 1978-79 period, the net



The truth about OPEC is not always told

income of the oil companies in the same period increased by an average of 195 per cent, and in the case of British Petroleum by 302 per cent.

The publication shows that the per capita GNP of the OPEC countries is only one seventh that of the OECD states. But OPEC members spent five to eight times as much on development aid as the OECD countries in the last six years, expressed as a percentage of their respective gross national products.

To underline the message of the OPEC booklet, figures released in late July revealed that last year OPEC members allocated 1.28 per cent of their GNP as aid to the Third World compared to the 0.34 per cent of GNP allocated by the OECD states. According to the OECD Annual Report, the aid given by European countries to developing countries last year was \$22,267 million, which was slightly less than that disbursed in the preceding year. The OPEC states contributed \$4,711 million in 1979, a rise of 8.4 per cent over the \$4,342 million given in 1978.

Observer status for PLO?

SAUDI ARABIA and Kuwait are applying pressure on the World Bank in support of the Arab campaign to have the Palestine Liberation Organisation admitted as official observers at the joint annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in October.

Saudi Arabia has told the Bank that it intends to freeze plans for a loan of over \$400 million, which

it had offered earlier this year, and to block plans for future loans if the PLO is not admitted to the meeting. Kuwait has refused permission for the Kuwait Foreign Trading Contracting and Investment Company to join the underwriting of an \$86 million private placement of bonds for the Bank.

The PLO applied to attend last year's annual meeting but was refused after a split committee decision. The issue poses a particular challenge to the United States, Israel's principal backer, and particularly so in an election year when the Carter administration is making every effort to attract the Zionist vote. The USA has by far the largest capital subscription in the Bank and holds a blocking vote. There have been no reports yet of Arab pressure on the IMF.

Call to strengthen Arab Common Market

THE ARAB Economic Community Council has appealed to all non-member Arab countries to sign the Arab Economic Unity Agreement and the declaration of the Arab Common Market. The Council, in a statement issued in Amman on 11th August, on the eve of the sixteenth anniversary of the ACM declaration, stressed the importance of extending the membership of the Arab Economic Community Council, under whose auspices the Arab Common Market was established.

The Council has only twelve members and one of these, Egypt, had its membership sus-

pended after the conclusion of the Camp David Accords. The other members are the Libyan Jamahiriya, Syria, Iraq, Kuwait, Sudan, Jordan, North Yemen, Somalia, Mauritania, Democratic Yemen and Palestine. Full duty exemption was put into effect among the market's members in 1971.

World Economic summit next year

A WORLD economic summit meeting of leaders from industrialised and Third World countries, including major oil exporting states, seems almost certain to be held in Mexico City next spring or summer. The summit is being sponsored by Dr Bruno Kreisky, the Austrian Chancellor, and President José Lopez Portillo of Mexico. Lists of possible participants are being circulated in several capitals and invitations are expected to be sent out soon after the two-week United Nations special session on development ends on 5th September.

The summit, which was originally proposed in the report of the Brandt Commission, published earlier this year, will be aimed at trying to establish an agreed political approach to the mounting economic problems that beset many countries. These include the supply and price of food and energy, the world recession, recycling the huge 'petrodollar' surpluses and the financial plight of the poorest nations.

In proposing the summit, the Brandt Commission said world leaders should work out emergency guidelines for co-operation between industrialised and developing nations in the coming five years. 'The search for solutions is not an act of benevolence but a condition of mutual survival,' the commission said in its report on its two year study of Third World problems.

Libyan development spending third highest

THE JAMAHIRIYA'S expenditure on development contracts in the first half of this year has been exceeded by only two other Arab states. Contracts valued at \$1,173.9 million were signed in the first six months of 1980, up from \$582.9 million in the same period of last year. Libyan expenditure accounted for about 6.2 per cent of the combined figure for all the Arab states and was roughly equal to the outlays of Kuwait and Egypt. In first place came Saudi Arabia, with Iraq as the runner up.

Thirty per cent of the Libyan expenditure was accounted for by contracts in the food and agriculture sector, which were valued at \$349.7 million. In second rank came the marine sector, with contracts valued at \$228.8 million, while the industry sector, with contracts valued at \$181 million, ranked third. The telecommunications and broadcasting and housing and building sectors were of roughly equal importance, with contracts valuing \$135 million and \$123.1 million respectively. The figures on Arab development contracts were published in *Middle East Economic Digest* on 1st August.

African news plan

REPRESENTATIVES FROM nearly fifty of the member states of the Organisation of African Unity have decided to create a Pan-african News Agency as soon as possible as part of a series of measures aimed at 'preparing the coming of a new order' in communications in the continent. They also came out in favour of a fund to finance a better communications network for the continent. These were the major outcomes of a ten-day conference held in the Cameroun capital Yaounde in July, sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The conference recommendations will be presented to a UNESCO congress in Belgrade this autumn.

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Copies of The Green Book can be obtained from The Information Department, The Libyan People's Bureau of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, 5 St James's Square, London SW1.

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